# In fact For The Millions Who Want a Free Press. Vol. I, No. 2 98 JUNE 3, 1940 George Seldes, Editor; Bruce Minton, Associate Editor

# The War-Mongering Press

THERE are many indications that the 1914-1917 pattern of bringing America into war "to make the world safe for democracy" is being repeated in 1940.

The American people in public opinion polls show themselves 98% opposed to war; they also show themselves about 90% on the Allied side. The objective of those who want us to fight is to convert the pro-Ally sentiment into a prowar sentiment, and this can be done only with the powerful means of communication—press, radio, pulpit, platform, movies, theater—of which the press is the most powerful.

From 1914 to 1917 the Germans and the British tried to buy up and corrupt the world press. The Northcliffe mission bought newspapers everywhere. The French ministry of the interior paid Mussolini 50,000 goldfrancs cash, and gave him a monthly bribe. The German government bought the New York Daily Mail—and Dr. Rumely, who now works with publisher Frank Gannett, went to jail for trafficking with the enemy.

Representative Callaway charged (Congressional Record, Feb. 9, 1917) that "in March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States."

Today the propaganda for our entry into the war is again filling the newspapers. Every newspaper which publishes a pro-war statement by a congressman (for example) and suppresses an anti-war statement by an equally known congressman, is playing the war game.

The first newspaper to advocate joining the European slaughter is the New York Herald Tribune. It said openly, "The least costly solution, in both life and welfare, would be to declare war on Germany at once."

What is behind the New York Herald Tribune's bloody cry for war?

Whitelaw Reid, ambassador to Britain, left his estate to his wife, Elizabeth Mills Reid. In her lifetime Mrs. Reid gave \$9,589,146 to her son Ogden Reid, owner of the New York Herald Tribune, and \$6,339,057 to her daughter, Jesse Templeton, wife of Sir John Hubert Ward, an Englishman.

Furthermore, in her will, Mrs. Reid left to Lady Ward, of Chilton, Hungerford, England, a half interest of \$3,698,332 in the indebtedness to her of the New York Tribune, Inc. Mrs. Reid had advanced \$7,376,664 to the New York Tribune (which later acquired the N. Y. Herald).

Mrs. Reid left stocks and bonds worth \$16,000,000 to Ogden Reid. The largest item was \$5,971,218 of National Biscuit Company stock. News of the big strike at NBC in 1935 was not reported in the Herald Tribune.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that the Herald Tribune, leading the pack in the cry for bloody war, is connected by blood and money with one party in the European slaughter. Nor does it seem necessary to point out the fact that a \$16,000,000 bond and stock portfolio is for foreign war, whereas union members who work for barely living wages are against any war on foreign soil.

# Colliers Fakes a Story

MOST of the popular weekly magazines (which live on advertising and fight progressive ideas) have been as guilty as the daily press in faking news for the purpose of harming the Work Projects Administration,

Colliers, one of the worst offenders, not only published a fake, but refused to make an honorable apology to its 3,000,000 readers, when the truth came out.

Colliers published a letter from J. C. Richaberger of Vinton, Texas, saying a friend had tried to hire a woman named Marie for housework but Marie preferred the \$40 a week on the WPA sewing project. Her daugher got \$38 from

# Hitler Buys Col. Beck

IN FACT presents the inside story of the German White Paper—a major scandal in diplomatic circles.

The White Paper, issued two month ago, linked American Ambassadors Bullitt and Kennedy to a shady anti-Soviet war plot. It accused the British of betraying Poland. But it was lightly dismissed as untrue by President Roosevelt since documentary proof, he said, could not be in German hands.

The Nazis claimed to have seized the documents in Warsaw. Impossible! replied the emigré Polish government at Angiers, France. All documents had been taken out of the country by Polish Foreign Minister Josef Beck.

True, the Germans did not find the papers in Warsaw. Col. Beck did have them. The former Polish Premier who once counted on German cooperation in a war to be waged against the Soviet Union—even as Bullitt and Kennedy—took the documents to Rumania.

There Beck sold them to the Nazis. Beck, who had obviously expected military aid when Germany invaded Poland was furious at what he considered British treachery. According to the British Blue Book, Beck told the British Ambassador to Poland on September 2, 1939, that he "hoped, therefore, we would inform him as soon as possible of entry of the two countries (England and France) into the war, and that our aircraft would find it possible to draw off a considerable proportion of German aircraft operating on this front."

When no help came, Poland collapsed. Beck fied with the archives. He parted with them for money and revenge.

Question bothering diplomats now: "What documents will Beck sell to whom in the future?"

# Cold Feet in the Afternoon?

TO KEEP itself safe from Big Business through its main competing factor, advertising, the newspaper P.M., to be published in New York June 18, has announced that it will not, for the present, take ads, and that the millionaire backers have written agreements not to interfere with P.M. editorial policy for five years. The policy, stated by publisher Ralph Ingersoll is: "We are against people who push other people around. . . We are against fraud and deceit and cruelty and greed. . . ."

P.M.'s troubles will be internal.

The stock issue of \$1,500,000 was oversubscribed by \$1,000,000. Mr. Ingersoll
believes it is "unique" in American journalism to have so many rich families on
a board of newspaper directors, Among

them are:
Daniel McCarthy, representing the personal holdings of Huntington Hartford, nephew of the Messrs. Hartford of the A. & P. Tea Company (chain stores)

WPA every week, her son got \$30 from the CCC, and husband Miguel "said he was thinking of becoming a citizen so that he could vote against such niggardly treatment."

Colliers did not investigate. On the other hand it published editorial comment on this "hot symptom." The newspapers picked up the story and the comment; it was clinching proof that the WPA was terrible, should be abolished.

WPA investigated. The story was a fake. Richaberger admitted the hoax; the names in his letter were invented; Richaberger said he was sorry. The WPA further traced the story and found it was a legend, a popular joke, told long before WPA came into existence.

Colliers was asked officially to retract and print the evidence. It refused. The tremendous harm this false story did, remains. And no million-circulation magazine will undo it.

# For President: Willkie; Enemy of Free Press

BIG Business is the friend of the commercial press, the enemy of a free press. When the Chattanooga News was smashed by the public utilities and sold to its rival, the Chattanooga Free Press, last December, even the commercial newspapers (and their mouthpiece, Editor & Publisher) deplored the situation. Today the same big business press is boosting for President of the United States one Wendell L. Willkie, head of the Tennessee Electrical Power Co., once part of Commonwealth & Southern. It was Willkie's corporation which ruined the News.

The fight, which lasted five years, is illustrative of the continual conflict between the privately owned public utilities and the public, with the press usually prostituted for the benefit of the former. Up to 1929 the utilities raised a fund of about \$25,000,000 a year to corrupt the press. At a utility meeting a spokesman regretted that the National Electric Light Association had been able to corrupt only four-fifths of the American newspapers. Today the press still lines up with the utilities, although the \$25,000,000 fund has been abolished.

The Willkie method of smashing the Chattanooga News shows how the trick is done nowadays. Chattanooga was called the Hindenberg Line of the private power industry. In 1935, when the public wanted a municipal light plant, the utilities, mostly controlled by Willkie, spent from \$20,000 to \$100,000 trying to defeat the project. The News fought for the people, and the vote was 19,000 to 7,000 for a city plant. George Fort Milton, owner of the News, was the hero of the fight. The Willkie people set up a dummy organization, supposedly independent and pro-taxpayer, called the Citizens and Taxpayers' Committee. They ran tremendous advertisements and used the radio, claiming that publicly owned plants were a failure, that the American Way was the rugged individualism of the Commonwealth & Power Corp.

But the News found that the power companies had subsidized the phoney citizens committee with \$20,000. In 1938 it was disclosed by a Congressional investigating committee that Willkie supplied this money from the C & S treasury. At the same time the Willkie outfit determined to kill the News, and for that purpose not only withdrew all advertising, but made a deal with the Roy McDonald's Chattanooga Free Press. Francis Biddle showed the Congressional Committee how this was done: A local department store was paying 54.9 cents an inch for advertising, but the Willkie company paid \$1.26 for the same lineage.

Later the State Utilities Commission heard about the matter and threatened the Willkie Tennessee Electric Power Co. with a fine of \$917,000 for discrimination in favor of the Free Press. Leon Jourolmon of the commission said the Free Press had benefitted by \$36,000 excess for advertising; \$11,000 in electricity on long-term credit; \$10,000 paid the newspaper through its attorneys, and the sale of electricity costing \$21,000 to Homes Stores, owned by McDonald, of which \$16,000 went uncollected. McDonald replied this was New Deal persecution!

The State Public Utilities Commission ruled the Willkie subsidiary guilty of improper conduct in dealing with the press, etc., on 917 counts. At about this time General Hugh S. Johnson, syndicated Scripps-Howard columnist, told the Bond Club of New York that Willkie would make a strong candidate for President; that he was the ideal American business man. The Willkie boom started. Shortly afterwards the News was driven out of business; it sold its assets to the Free Press. When this happened Tide, the advertising weekly, named Willkie and Tennessee Electric, but Editor & Publisher did not name Willkie and referred to "the power company." The Chattanooga Times, owned by Sulzberger of the New York Times, took the power company side in the early battles, and more recently put on a big boosting campaign which also helped kill the News.

In the past fortnight the New York Times, the Scripps-Howard papers, Life, etc., have boomed Willkie for President. And Willkie ran a full page ad in Editor & Publisher for Commonwealth & Southern. but holding no position with that or-

Howard Bonbright of Detroit.

Chester Bowles, of Benton & Bowles, advertising.

Marshall Field, grandson of the founder of the Marshall Field department store in Chicago, also a suppressor of the news.

Mrs. Louis Gimbel, member of the Gimbel Family, of department store and news-suppression fame.

Mrs. Marion Rosenwald Stern, daughter of the late Julius R. Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Nathan W. Levin, manager of the Rosenwald Family Association,

John Hay Whitney, "millionaire sportsman," movie producer.

Deering Howe and Garrard Winston, partners in the law firm, Sherman & Sterling, New York, attorneys for the National City Bank,

M. Lincoln Schuster, of Simon & Schuster, publishers.

Harry Scherman, author, and president of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

The Field and Whitney families are the two heaviest investors. Messrs. Field and Whitney each have the right to name an additional director.

Other investors: Lessing J. Rosenwald, Dorothy Thompson, Ira J. Williams, Jr., of Philadelphia, Dwight Deere Wiman of Broadway, Philip K. Wrigley of Chicago, William Benton, Harry Cushing, Louis S. Weiss, John F. Wharton, John L. Loeb, Owen B. Winters.

We have definite information that at least one of the directors is having cold feet about the announced policy of liberalism of P.M. and the liberal politics of some of its employees. Unlike the New York Times, Herald Tribune, Sun, and other newspapers, P.M. is not fighting the unions, and is not fighting the American Newspaper Guild. It is wholly a Newspaper Guild shop. And the Guild is C.I.O. Some of the Big Money do not like it.

Although the contracts specify no interference with editorial policy for five years, there are other ways, outside of voting rights, to bring pressure. Perhaps Mr. Ingersoll will be able to defy his stockholders as well as the advertisers. The U. S. may have some provincial newspapers as free as the Manchester Guardian, but it would be a surprise for America to have at least one metropolitan journal as fair and honest.

### Suppressed For \$ Reasons

SAKS & CO. of New York advertised silk dresses in the New York newspapers as "ice smooth" satin. The U. S. government says these ads were fraudulent; the materials were acetate rayon.

Saks & Co. advertised fur coats worth \$200 when "in fact," says the U. S., "such coats had been purchased at . . . from \$42.50 to \$44, and were worth not more than \$100 retail value."

Saks & Co. advertised Black Persian Lamb as new, but the U. S. government found them cross-bred caracul lamb peltries "not brand new; had been made over from previously manufactured coats."

The government directs Saks & Co. to cease and desist from this sort of advertising, and from "representing that furs or fur products made wholly or partly of old, renovated or remade furs are new."

The newspapers suppress such items, They print the false ads.

# Press War Lies and Propaganda

FOR three months the press of the United States with few exceptions published propaganda and lies about the Russo-Finnish conflict. In our opinion there was more news faking in this period than in the past 30 years of journalism. When we published this allegation many newspapers and their voice, Editor & Publisher, became indignant.

Now the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (40 E. 49, N.Y.C.) has issued its monthly report, confirming both charges: There was a tremendous campaign of propaganda, and lies were part of it. "The simple fact is that the American press told less truth and retailed more fancy about the Finnish war than about any recent conflict," concludes the report. Mr. Hoover's hypocrisy is noted. The faking newspapers and the faking war correspondents are named. And the method by which a nation of 130,000,000 people was fooled, is explained.

Unfortunately the Institute for Propaganda Analysis does not reach one tenth as many people as any one metropolitan newspaper.

Also: A lie travels half way around the world while truth is putting on her shoes.

### Roosevelt vs. Roosevelt

ALL three metropolitan daily papers headlined the words of H. R. Knickerbocker, Hearst correspondent, who lectured in Seattle on the anniversary of America's entrance into the first World War.

America must again go to the aid of the Allies, Knickerbocker said.

A few blocks away 2,000 persons were simultaneously denouncing steps of Roosevelt to lead America into war. This apparently was not news. Only one paper, Hearst's Seattle Post-Intelligencer, ran a few paragraphs. Publishers are John and Anna Boettiger, son-in-law and daughter of President Roosevelt.

# What Price Blitzkrieg?

GERMAN economy lost far more than it gained from the invasions of Poland, Norway, Holland and Belgium, declared the U. S. Department of Agriculture in its publication "Foreign Agriculture." The food supply available to Germany in the invaded countries will be less than the amount formerly imported from them.

This was the experience of 1914-18. In the long run, German invasion serves to make the Allied blockade more effective, since the march of armies into neutral territory is accompanied by disorganization. Requisitioning methods pursued by the Nazis lead peasants to hoard, lower production, resort to sabotage. With more mouths to feed, there is less to go around. Even in 1939, the food-energy diet in Germany was 15% below the 1927 diet. The German and subjugated peoples will pay for this war with hunger and slow starvation as well as with mainings and death.

The strength of German workers grows, reports from Amsterdam reveal. Led by the underground Communist Party and militant socialist workers, strikes have forced modification of Goering's decrees lengthening working hours. Six months after the outbreak of war, not one of these decrees attacking wages and working conditions remains in force.

# The Administration Chooses War

"THE GERMANS will win a short war, the Allies will win a long war." That statement was considered axiomatic in September, 1939.

The Roosevelt administration is gambling that the war will drag on.

Those supporting the President's foreign policies privately stress that American intervention cannot influence the outcome of a short war. Army and navy experts declare that the United States lacks equipment and trained reserves to act quickly enough to save the Allies if they are unable to extricate themselves from their present predicament. "There is no substitute for time," General Arnold informed Congress.

Yet if the war is protracted, America's entry is unnecessary to assure an Allied victory.

Nevertheless, it is common knowledge among Washington officials (though carefully concealed from the public) that the administration is committed to military participation in Europe's war. "Everybody knows we're getting ready for war," Rep. May, Kentucky, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, inadvertently blurted out a recent committee hearing.

Confidentially, it is revealed that America must fight because:

1. A long war, though won by the Allies, will not necessarily result in a satisfactory peace. The strain on both Allied and German economies will be catastrophic. Too likely is the danger that the war's end will be accompanied by a collapse of all major governments.

2. U. S. troops must therefore be present in Europe to lend weight to American wishes with respect to any final settlement.

3. "Western civilization" must be preserved. U. S. troops in Europe can defend the "system" even against socialism if economic collapse of the belligerents occurs. If necessary, force of arms will be supplemented by underwriting Europe for generations to come.

Anti-War spokesmen harshly object that these war plans have nothing to do with defending democracy, or as it is now phrased, "decency." The administration, they insist, is concerned with defending the status quo in England and France—which means the suppression of labor, cancellation of civil rights, lowered standards of living, dictatorship of the vested interests.

### Coalition Government

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is anxious to reshuffle his Cabinet so far as War, Navy, and Labor Departments are concerned. He wants a business man and a Republican for the War and Navy posts, a labor representative who will go along with his war drive for the Labor Department.

Republicans are willing and anxious enough to support the President's present foreign policy. But coalition implies giving up patronage for thousands of party hacks who want government jobs. Moreover, high GOP and Democratic bosses object that coalition may kill the present two-party system, leave the field wide open for a new party which would be truly anti-war, pro-peace, pro-labor, pro-social legislation in outlook.

# What Is a "Fifth Column"?

THE "Fifth Column" is the new name given by President Roosevelt and his new-found friend Martin Dies to all advocates of peace, labor organization, civil liberties. What they have in mind is revealed by their simultaneous attacks on aliens (foreign-born workers). Further light is cast on what the offensive against the "Fifth Column" implies by the hushed-up gatherings called by Governor Baldwin of Connecticut.

Bitter Roosevelt hater, Governor Baldwin seized on the President's now admittedly ill-considered speech on the dangers of hostile air armadas over America to summon industrialists, CIO and AFL leaders. "Fifth Column" activities must be stopped. According to the Governor, that meant a ban on all strikes, union organization, labor legislation. He added that Americans "must be prepared to relinquish civil liberties and rights in this emergency."

The unionists balked, objecting that Baldwin, like Roosevelt and Dies, was using the "Fifth Column" as an excuse to attack organized labor.

Baldwin then summoned all Connecticut mayors, ordered special guards for the state's armories, proposed the creation of an armed force of all able-bodied men to replace the National Guard (soon to march to war, the Governor explained). This force would be on guard againt parachutists and other disturbers such as union organizers.

Following the lead, the Minute Men are being organized in Stamford for similar duties by former Congressman A. N. Phillips, aspirant for governor.

The "Fifth Column" scare, emanating from the White House, is considered invaluable to prevent subversive plots to maintain wage standards, limit work hours, spread unionism.

# The CIO Makes Jobs

THE CIO in a recent bulletin declared. "If it had not been for the extensive reductions of hours and increases in hourly wage rates brought about by organized labor, the consequences of technological change would have been even more devastating." Recent moves by the administration to weaken the unions by antitrust prosecutions, it is claimed, constitute a severe blow to American economic recovery. War-time provisions will further increase unemployment and destitution.

To prove this, the CIO cites testimony presented by union leaders to Congress. In steel, union successes reduced hours from 48 to 40 in 1937, and increased hourly earnings from 66.8 cents to 84.3 cents. When the full impact of the automatic strip mills was felt in the steel industry, with sudden rise in the output per man, only the union's ability to maintain hours and wages prevented the discharge of an additional 150,000 workers who would have been thrown on to relief rolls.

Similarly in auto, union strength saved the jobs of 113,000. In rubber, 32,000 jobs were safeguarded by shorter hours and higher wages. Yet, says the CIO, industry prospered. Examples: General Motors and Chrysler made 35.9% and 27.3% greater profits respectively.

### Dollars and Bullets

IN DISCUSSING Hemisphere defense, the administration made clear that it is anxious to revive former conceptions of the "Manifest Destiny," though avoiding these words. America has invaded Great Britain's South American stronghold, Argentina, doubling its trade there, taking all business formerly going to Germany plus 5% of the trade until recently considered English property.

Yet critics of Hemisphere defense point out that Manifest Destiny, with its overtones of Yankee imperialism, threatens American defense rather than aids it. Dollar diplomacy is so hated in Latin America that those nations will retaliate by drawing closer to America's enemies.

The argument continues that if Germany wins the present war-the excuse for Hemisphere defense plans—our neighbors will seek support from the fascists if this country continues to exert imperialist pressure. Furthermore, say these critics, the stated purpose of Hemisphere defense is to protect American democracy, but the Roosevelt government encourages fascism in Mexico by allowing arms smuggling to Almazon (the Mexican fascist candidate for President often visits Garner's home town when Congress is not in session and when Garner is the only "distinguished" citizen in that part of Texas), and by badgering the Cardenas progressive government over oil leases, etc. It aids reactionary forces elsewhere-Vargas in Brazil, and the opponents of the People's Front in Chile, the democratic coalition in Panama, the people's faction in Cuba, and other such democratic forces.

### To the Colors

ON THE desk of Governor Olson awaiting signature, lie commissions for the Intelligence Division of the California National Guard. They are made out to Melvyn Douglas (movie actor) for Lieutenant Colonel; David Foutz (Olson's publicity man), for Major; George Killion (state racing commissioner) for major; and Walter Ballou (Olson's secretary). The Intelligence Division has just been created to "popularize the draft" that is said to be just around the corner. Secret orders have also been issued to

aviators at March Field near Riverside, Calif., to be prepared for the draft within thirty days. The order was issued about

May 10th.

### \$16,000,000,000

IN THE first issue of IN FACT, we said the Allies have \$16 billion in America to spend for war materials. Many readers were surprised, several questioned. week later the United Press confirmed the story from Washington.

### Catholics and Jews

ALTHOUGH the Popes have denounced anti-Semitism, Father Coughlin practices it in America and General Franco in Spain. A large part of the Franco press continually attacks the "Jewish Peril." Correo Catalan of Barcelona exempts from its attacks "the poor Jews who abide by their religion," but baits those Jews "who live and prosper in international circles."

Franco was financed by Senor Juan March, a "cheuta" Jew, descendant of converted Jews, the leading Spanish nationalist to prosper in international cir-

Jewish children in Madrid and Barcelona are denied the public schools.

### Sidelight on Defense

"WITH serious discussion being heard concerning the advisability of the United States taking under its wing near-by possessions of foreign powers which might be used by enemies of this country, the question was raised in Wall Street yesterday what refuge would exist in such an eventuality for sufferers from income tax. Now it sometimes is possible to save taxes here by forming holding companies 'south of the border.' Such savings would not be possible if United States jurisdiction were extended along the lines indicated." -New York Times, May 18, 1940.

Published every two weeks and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A., by IN FACT, Inc., Chatham-Phenix Building, Long Island City, New York. Application for entry as second-class matter is pending. Special Introductory offer 25 cents for ten months (twenty-two issues). 30 cents a year. Foreign, \$1.00 a year.

# THE FIRST 100,000 IS THE HARDEST

You know the story about the 1st million being the toughest to get. Frankly, the 1st hundred thousand looks just as imposing to us. And that's the exact number of subscriptions we need by January, 1941, to keep going permanently. If the enthusiastic response we've received so far continues, IN FACT can be considered permanent.

Will you help us by joining up with George Seldes' volunteer army of subgetters? If every volunteer secures one subscription we'll bave 30,000 subscribers by the Ame you receive your next copy. If you do better, even a million won't look too tough. Show this copy of IN FACT to a friend, put his name and address down on a blank sheet of paper, collect his quarter, and mail to IN FACT.

### To Subscribers

Five cents (coin or stamps) must accompany all change of addresses,

A sample copy of IN FACT will be mailed anywhere in U. S. by sending 3c postage.

Special notice: (For those who inquired as to the best method of mailing twenty-five cents in coin.). We find it much better to send in four quarters at one time in the form of a one dollar bill. However, if you insist, simply wrap the quarter well in newspaper and place in envelope with name and address.